NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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NEW YORK, MAY 5, 1958

THE GOAL: 2,000,000 BALLOTS

D. C. meeting spurs campaign to double Negro vote by 1960

By Louis E. Burnham

WASHINGTON

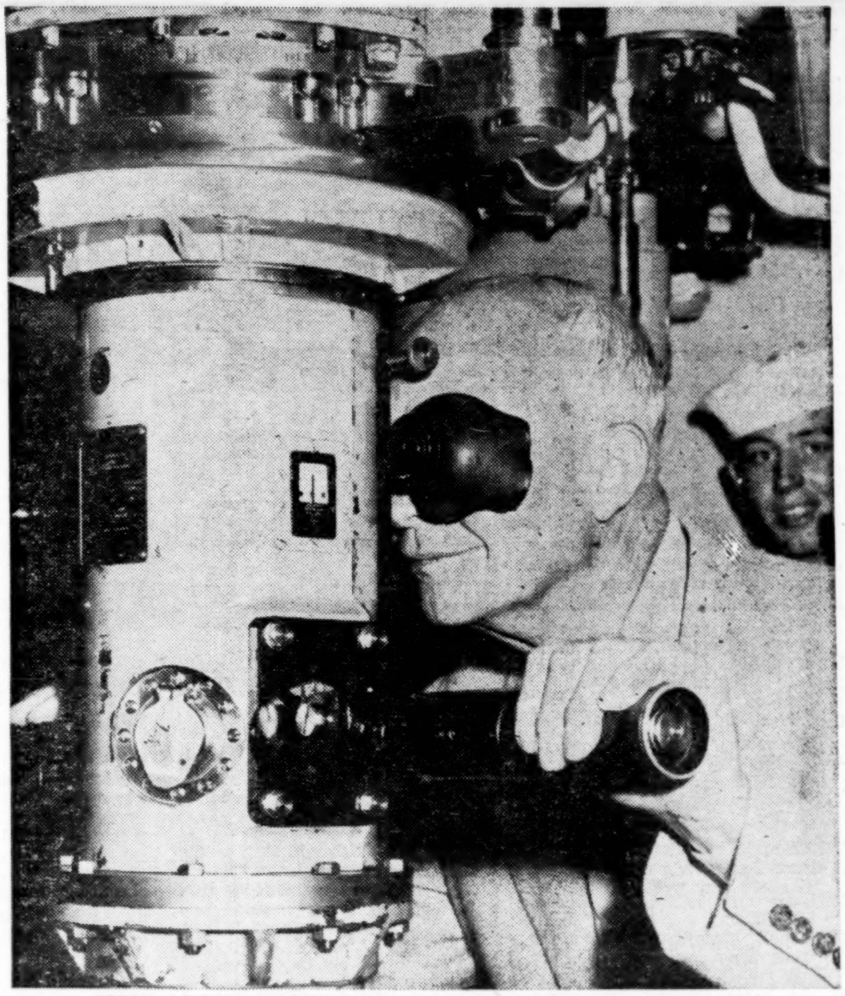
A DELEGATION of Negro and white southerners, representing the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., on April 28 presented to the Federal Civil Rights Commission the findings of a conference on voting restrictions which had been held the day before at Washington's Asbury Methodist Church. Father John La Bauve of St. Gabriel Catholic Church, Mound Bayou, Miss., read a formal statement for the group and asked the commission to "send members of its staff into the affected states, so that the stories of the sufferers may be heard from their own lips, and the executive, the congress and the courts may know what is happening while there is still time to provide a remedy."

George M. Tiffany, director-designate of the commission, promised prompt attention to complaints about the denial of voting rights in the South. He did not say whether commission staff members would go into the field to interview complainants and hold hearings, but assured the delegation that "your concern and interest is of great moral encouragement to all of us." He said the commission would call upon the S.C.E.F. and others to substantiate the observations made by the delegation.

THE OBSTACLES: Reports to the all-day voting conference the day before were summarized by James M. Nabrit, secy. of Howard U., who said that Negroes in the South must "run the gantlet of apathy, ignorance, fear, bodily harm and racial discrimination in order

(Continued on Page 9)

KEYNOTER AUBREY WILLIAMS
The challenge is to both parties



HOW ABOUT SURFACING TO THE FACTS OF LIFE, IKE?
This photo of the President pcering at the world through the persiscope of the atomic-powered submarine USS Seawolf, seems symbolic of the Administration's approach to the domestic crisis and international affairs. Last week Ike told his press conference that two Cadillac dealers liked the way he was doing things ("You auto buy now"). We suggest that he take a poll at the summit next.

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE HEIKKILA CASE

The disgrace of the Walter-McCarran Law

THE KIDNAP-DEPORTATION of 52-year-old William Heikkila of San Francisco to Helsinki on the weekend of April 18-19 has focused unprecedented national attention on the Walter-McCarran immigration law and perhaps for the first time indicated the extent of public disapproval of the methods of the Immigration Service.

Yet even though Heikkila was returned within less than a week on orders of immigration commissioner Lieut.-Gen. Joseph May Swing, the return was ordered solely to relieve the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the "embarrassment" of facing contempt-of-court action and not because any official conceded that any wrong had been done to Heikkila. The contempt-of-court threat arose because Heikkila, who has been fighting deportation efforts for eleven years, was seized on a San Francisco street while a court proceeding was pending and deported despite a habeas corpus writ issued while he was still in custody of immigration authorities.

Gen. Swing's vow that he would "deport Heikkila if it takes another eleven years" indicates the venom with which his department conducts its affairs but the comments of his acting regional director in the West Coast area were more illustrative of the Immigration Dept.'s methods.

At San Pedro Acting Regional Director Merrill R. Toole backed up the actions of his San Francisco director Bruce Barber with the explanation:

"In all these cases involving Communists and fellow travelers, we have to act fast. They're experts in delaying things . . .

"We didn't want any further delaying tactics or administrative proceedings, so we moved without consulting his wife or attorney."

What the Immigration Service anticipated in the Heikkila case was that further court action might result in suspension of deportation proceedings under last December's Rowoldt decision of the Supreme Court.

Heikkila had been a Communist Party member in Minnesota from 1929 to 1939 and the Immigration Service had been seeking his deportation since 1947 on those grounds. The Rowoldt decision ruled that long-previous CP membership was not sufficient grounds for deportation. The case involved Charles Rowoldt, a CP member in Minnesota during the same period as Heikkila. Since the Rowoldt decision, lower courts have ordered several deportation proceedings

(Continued on Page 4)

TEST CASE COULD AFFECT 3,000,000

Court upholds security firings in industry

THE SUPREME COURT may soon be asked to rule decisively on the principle that a man has a right to his job and that he cannot be fired from private industry in the name of "national security" on the testimony of anonymous informers. The screening program, which affects some 3,000,000 persons, has been fought through local and appeals courts in a number of cases with widely varying decisions.

The crucial test case may be that of William L. Greene who, up to April, 1953, was a vice president of the Engineering and Research Co. (ERCO) of Riverdale, Md. At that point the Navy said it would have to cancel its contracts with ERCO unless Greene was barred from all contact with Navy projects.

The Navy charged that Greene had associated with Communists, particularly his former wife, whom he had divorced years earlier, and her friends. At hearings the government produced no witnesses against Greene but only statements by informers whose names were not revealed.

Greene, who had been making $18,000 a year with ERCO, had to resign. Without government clearance he was reduced to working as an architectural draftsman at $4,000.

OUSTER UPHELD: Greene sued to force the government to restore his clearance on two grounds: (1) The hearings, in which he could not confront his accusers, violated the due process clauses of the Fifth Amendment; and (2) the government had no right to force a man out of private employment.

Last week a three-man Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., upheld the government's right to screen and declined to intervene. The opinion, written by Judge George T. Washington, carried a note of regret and concern. Judge Washington cited Greene's "personal tragedy" and the government's loss of Greene's services, then warned: "A government which is too cautious in such matters may ultimately have few secrets to protect or able workers to serve it . . . If too many mistakes are made the electorate will in due time reflect its dissatisfaction

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Quin's word for it

HONOLULU, T.H.

Might not the GUARDIAN find it timely to quote this definition of war by Mike Quin from his book, **On the Drumhead?**

"War, the blazing insanity of nations that wouldn't face the need of social reform, refused to make the necessary social adjustments to solve their problems peacefully. War, the angry clawing of a dirty beast—the confession of mental, social and moral bankruptcy!" **—A.R.**

All together now

WESTMOUNT, QUE.

Bombs thermonuclear and
nuclear-thermo
Can level off Paris, Peking and
Palermo.
And from an ubiquitous radioactivity
We want to preserve our intactivity.

We want to be All-out
Against Fall-out.

Perhaps our top-men will get
together
In a spell of radioactive weather
To find that the summit they
seek with care
Is the little summit that isn't
there.

Some will have to shout it,
Others merely hum it;
Let's have a summit meeting
While we still have a summit.

Louise Harvey

Doer of the word

NELSON, NEBR.

A few cannot be bought, a few hold loyal to truth and justice, a few are humanitarian to the core, even in USA. Such is Mr. Fyke Farmer of Nashville, Tenn. Though under great provocation to do otherwise, Mr. Farmer has made all material sacrifice to support peace. He has lost a lucrative law practice, mortgaged his home. He is determined to abide by the Nuremberg decree that those supporting armament are criminally involved in supporting war. Mr. Farmer is a ". . . doer of the word, not a hearer only . . ." (James 1:22).

I. Riggs

The Moiseyev Dancers

NEW YORK, N. Y.

By now everyone knows the reception the Moiseyev Dancers were accorded by the public and the press. To me it was all very thrilling and emotionally moving, not because of the beautiful costumes and brilliant dancing, not because of the complete honesty of the performances both individually and collectively, not because of the friendly exchange of greetings across the footlights between Russians and Americans as there was on the Elbe a few years back, although all these were important. No, the great thing was that it happened at all. Here is what we have been hoping and working for during these ten years of Truman Cold War, and finally, at long last, a dream that we knew in our hearts would some day be realized comes true and is even more beautiful than we expected.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Thanks to S. Hurok America will have the opportunity to become acquainted with an excellent troupe of Soviet folk-dancers who dance with great spirit, probably because the dancers feel that in free America one need not be restricted, and one can express oneself artistically as one wishes.

—Dr. N. Sverdlin, drama critic of **Jewish Day-Morning Journal,** April 17

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Y.S., New York, N.Y.

In the International Tchaikovsky Competition, Mr. Khrushchev himself attended a performance and congratulated the winner, Van Cliburn of Texas, in person. The first appearance of a Russian troupe of this kind in this country, with one of the most brilliant arrays of talent in the audience that has ever been gathered together, did not even rate recognition by our Administration except by some unknown super-office boy. It makes one wonder. What are we afraid of that the Soviets are not? Obviously our alleged diplomats are not even trained in elementary good manners, much less diplomacy.

Certainly it is heartening and encouraging to an old progressive to see the dollar curtain being torn aside by artistry, by culture.

Maury Tuckerman

A rejoinder

DETROIT, MICH .

To Name Withheld, "it seems funny" that my article on the effects of unemployment in Detroit (March 3) left out what the UAW is doing about it but made "lots of noise" about the Socialist Workers Party getting petitions signed. Altogether I wrote only two sentences, in a fairly long article, about the SWP's success in getting election petitions from the jobless, which to me indicated a certain shift in their thinking.

About the UAW's activities in connection with the unemployed, (which are the same in Detroit as elsewhere): Name Withheld sees the UAW leadership "fighting." I see it engaged around 90% in social service work (telling the members where to apply, etc.) and around 10% in lobbying for legislative and administrative relief measures that do not go beyond the limits tolerable to the Democratic politicians. When the labor movement here begins really to fight on behalf of the unemployed, I will be as ready to report it as I was to report the UAW's retreat from this fight by its dumping of the shorter work week as its major 1958 demand.

George Breitman

Dixie dilemma

FALLS CHURCH, VA.

Something shocking is happening. In the annual selection of the five best college basketball players in the U .S. four are Negroes.

Each of the teams on which these Negroes are playing ranks at the top or next to the top in the leagues in which they are playing. Are the white boys on the teams feeding the ball to Negroes to enable them to break the records in scoring, playmaking or re-bounding?

Last year 46 Negroes were being paid from $10,000 to $40,000 a season on the teams in the National and American baseball leagues. Over 40 Negroes were on the professional football teams. Only one team held up the honor of white supremacy, the Redskins in our National capitol.

Name Withheld

Excerpted from the Miss. Petal Paper—Ed.

Abolition ammunition

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In planning that part of our program dealing with the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee, and the Eastland Internal Security Subcommittee, it was decided to prepare (1) a pamphlet on the specific invasions of the field of religion by the Congressional committees; and (2) a one-sheet piece to distribute among both religious and secular groups to raise and answer some questions on ending the mandate of the House Committee.

We have 10,000. We'll send them free up to ten copies; larger quantities at a penny a piece—just about the cost to us. They will do no good sitting in the office here, so we urge you to help get them out among people everywhere.

Janice M. Roberts, Secy.,
Religious Freedom Comm.
118 E. 28th St., N.Y.C. 16

Amnesty or parole

SEATTLE, WASH.

I am sure GUARDIAN readers will agree that Smith Act victims Robert Thompson, Henry Winston and Gilbert Green should be granted amnesty from prison terms.

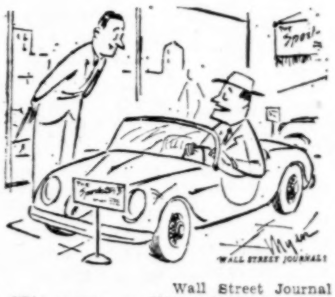
Recently the Supreme Court, by a vote of 5-4, upheld three-year contempt sentences against Winston and Green. They have been in the Federal Penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind., and Leavenworth, Kan., for two years. They face not only completion of five-year sentences under the Smith Act, but in addition three-year sentences on contempt charges.

Robert Thompson has completed a Smith Act sentence and is now free in bail with 18 months more imprisonment facing him on a contempt charge.

These contempt jail terms should be reversed. I believe such punishment for failing to appear to serve sentences is unprecedented. **Cecilia Corr**

Thompson is eligible for parole now, Winston and Green will be next fall. Letters recommending parole should go to U.S. Board of Parole, First and D. Sts., N.W., Washington 25, D.C. Amnesty letters should go to the President at the White House.

—Ed.



Wall Street Journal

"It seems a little tight across the instep."

No measly poet

SAPULPA, OKLA.

(Lines with a sub renewal on my 87th birthday.)

Of all the papers that I get
The GUARDIAN is the best one
yet;
Let others rot, or go to pot,
The GUARDIAN always hits the
spot.
Send it along and keep it strong,
To it the Kings can still do
wrong;
This measly five will help it live,
I wish that I had more to give.

J. A. Mooney

Keep 3c postage

ERWIN, TENN.

It's outrageous the way the President's Cabinet members are assuming authority over our property and lives. A Postmaster-General, for instance, has no more right to be assisting Mr. Rockefeller's Mr. Dulles spread his sticky network of fascistic nut-work over the world than he has to be building battleships.

When you hear on the radio: "Send your 'truth dollars' to 'Crusade for Free Europe,' care your local Postmaster," what it really means is that the Post Office has been put into international politics—with no mandate from Congress or the people—and that this is one reason for the crusade to hike our postal rates. What we need is a crusade to free the U.S. from such extravagance and folly.

Ernest Seeman

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REPORT TO READERS

Out of Cave Junction

IF ALL WERE HUNKY-DORY with our sub drive we'd pick some other topic this week, but the going is rough and you ought to know about it For example, a friend who got one of our letters asking him to sign up some of his friends and neighbors, writes from Cave Junction, Ore.:

"I am crippled and live back in the mountains a few miles from the Post Office and a mile and a half off the main road and about 700 feet higher and live by myself and nobody living above me. I don't have many visitors as it's a hard climb. So it's just out of the question for me to send you any subs. If there had been any around here, you would have got them long ago. So find enclosed $5. Yours truly . . ."

Further along the timberline we're doing better, thanks to George Backs of Tacoma for one. He collected a handful of "How Crazy Can You Gets" from the GUARDIAN, incorporated them in a letter which he mimeographed and sent to neighbors and friends with the following sub appeal:

This letter and a dollar bill
Will bring you the National Guardian 13 weeks
With a lot of good sense and a thrill.
Each week you can read "How Crazy Can You Get"
And have a good laugh you will not soon forget.

DOWN THE COAST, around Elsinore, Calif., there is activity in Temecula, Hemet, Wildomar, Alberhill and Perris (can you match community names like that in your neck of the woods?) and to them and to all, we want to say that no, we have not set a time limit on our $1 for 13 weeks special. It is our regular introductory $1 sub, available at all times to all newcomers.

In Los Angeles, Jack Fox, 2331 Brooklyn Ave., has a sort of vacuum-sweeper operation going pulling new subs out of the remote corners of town, and is anxious to trade ideas and prospects with other sub-getter teams in Southern California.

In California's Bay Area, they're still talking about our humdinger party at the Hallinans' in Ross with Paul Robeson. Even Herb Caen, the San Francisco **Chronicle's** little-league gossiper, prattled about it. One of his items concerned a bejeweled dowager whose limousine got caught in the traffic at the Hallinan gate. As Caen spins it, the yarn goes:

"You going to the Hallinan party, ma'am?" asked the gatekeeper, trying to direct traffic. She rolled her window down, stuck her patrician head to within one inch of the man's nose and shouted "HELL NO!"

The rest of the yarn, as we like to spin it, is that the gatekeeper jotted down her license number and next day had a cop friend look it up and sent her a $1 sub.

ALL JOKING ASIDE, though, something like this did happen out on Long Island. One of those go-getter magazine salesmen working his way through college buzzed the bell of a subscriber of ours, a personable young woman who has the GUARDIAN's interest uppermost in her heart at all times. She asked the young man in, discussed the topics of the day with him, found him hopelessly ill-informed but willing to be otherwise, and sent him off with an introductory GUARDIAN sub but no sales of his own slick merchandise.

And up in St. Paul on Palm Sunday (the weather must have been better than it was around here) a GUARDIAN couple took a walk around the neighborhood, visited some half-dozen friends they had been meaning to drop in on for ever so long, and sent us three new subs as a result. They also talked up the idea of a GUARDIAN get-together, set a date and a place, and now that's in the works, too.

SO THINGS ARE PERKING, but not everywhere and not really furiously anywhere. In Chicago we have a good committee getting under way. Detroit is livening up. Around Boston things are simmering. Likewise Cleveland. In Philadelphia we keep trying but get a busy signal. In Milwaukee, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., ditto. We wouldn't say that New York was any hotbed of GUARDIAN sub-getting either, but we are working on this.

Where we can't organize the job ourselves after hours and on our days off, we have to ask you to stand in for us. Please write us for details, materials, etc.

We don't like to end on this note of work, work, work, so here's a cheery ending, from our friend Aaron Braude of Los Angeles. Aaron wants to know if, when the Administration starts spending billions for bomb shelters, will they call them Eisenhouses?

—THE GUARDIAN

A PROGRAM FOR BIG BUSINESS

New Rockefeller report based on false promise

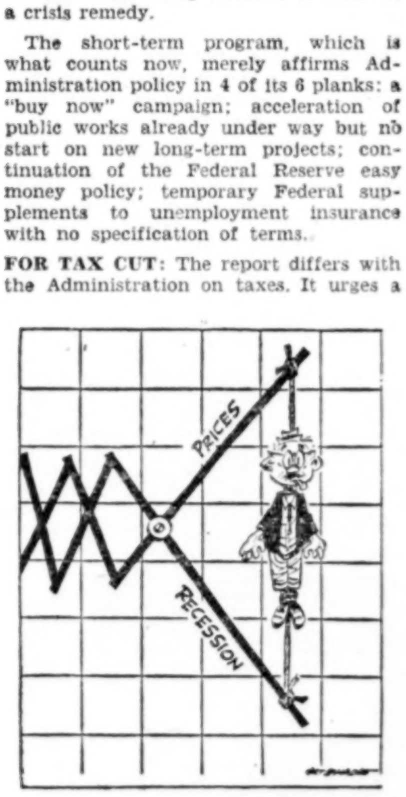
By Victor Perlo

THE ROCKEFELLER BROTHERS issued a military policy report in January; together with the Rockefeller-influenced unpublished Gaither Committee Report, it did much to spur the acceleration in armament contracting now under way. Aided by panel member Edward Teller, the first Rockefeller Report also recommended rigid official opposition to nuclear disarmament. It outlined the military reorganization plan which President Eisenhower is now demanding. The Rockefellers scored heavily on their first time out.

Now the Rockefeller brothers have issued a second report, this one on the economy. While given as much publicity as the first, it is less likely to have a major impact on policy. Only a small portion deals with the present "recession"; most of it is concerned with long-term policies, which can give the unwary the false impression that the Rockefellers have something effective to offer as a crisis remedy.

The short-term program, which is what counts now, merely affirms Administration policy in 4 of its 6 planks: a "buy now" campaign; acceleration of public works already under way but no start on new long-term projects; continuation of the Federal Reserve easy money policy; temporary Federal supplements to unemployment insurance with no specification of terms.

FOR TAX CUT: The report differs with the Administration on taxes. It urges a reduction as the quickest working anti-recession remedy. Nelson Rockefeller explained that he and others favored an immediate cut, while some panel members preferred to wait a month. In contrast, the Administration and Congressional leaders have recently been backing away from a tax cut, apparently responding to powerful banking pressures to keep the Federal deficit within bounds and to permit unemployment to act as a curb on labor's aims.



Portland Oregonian

TWO WAY STRETCH

Finally, the report urges establishment of a new Cabinet-level economic advisory committee to the President, roughly paralleling the National Security Council. Presumably this is designed to improve Eisenhower's big business contacts and to resolve conflicts among the top groups sufficiently to prevent the frequent paralysis of economic policy.

As I indicated in a recent GUARDIAN article, the real issue in "anti-recession" measures is who shall get relief at whose expense? The Rockefeller tax recommendation is solidly for big business relief, at the ultimate expense of labor. It opposes labor's demand for an increase in personal income tax deductions. Instead it suggests equal percentage cuts at all income levels, which means enormous gains, both absolute and relative, to those in the upper brackets, but only trifling relief for those below.

ACTION DOUBTFUL: The report also recommends a general corporation tax cut and rapid depreciation rights for all new investments started in the next 12 months. Such measures are properly denounced by labor as giveaways and tax loopholes.

It is far from certain that the new report will result in a prompt big business-oriented tax cut. The Rockefellers have not won the President to their viewpoint on this issue, and Treasury Secy. Anderson, a former member of the top Rockefeller panel, has been a leading advocate of doing nothing about taxes. Because of the sharp conflicts of interest, Congressional procedures on taxes are bound to be prolonged when and if they start; and labor pressure may be strong enough to prevent big business from having everything its way.

'UNANIMITY': Nelson Rockefeller reported that all decisions were unanimous. But on many issues this was a "unanimous" agreement to say nothing of substance, suggesting a stubborn split within the group.

The 17-man panel included at least five individuals with long-standing Rockefeller associations. But there were also three Morgan group corporate directors, including the panel chairman, Thomas B. McCabe of Scott Paper, and New York Life Insurance chairman Devereaux C. Josephs, who is also a director of J. P. Morgan & Co.

Of course, there is no evidence that differences in viewpoint and emphasis followed this breakdown of major interest groups, but the Rockefellers apparently failed to unify the big business approach to immediate economic problems.

The main part of the report is a highly generalized long-range program, designed to gain popular support by suggesting a great increase during the next decade in government spending for education, health and welfare, and in unemployment insurance and minimum wage coverage. Presumably the fiscal conservatives on the panel went along because these programs were left in general form and for the indefinite future.

FOR THE LONG PULL: This section of the report is similar to a number of glowing long-range prophesies from time to time by government and business groups. It varies from most only in its emphasis on government welfare spending. Like the others, it endeavors to tell the American people how well off they are and how they can expect a better future if "private enterprise" is unshackled. For the long pull, the report recommends more cuts in upper income and corporate taxes and special tax concessions for foreign investments. It also echoes recent recommendations for the elimination of at least 1,200,000 farmers, combined with a more ruthless curtailment of farm output and gradual elimination of farm price supports.

ROCKEFELLER CENTER
49TH AND 50TH STS.

NELSON ROCKEFELLER

The man currently being touted for Governor of New York recently told reporters: "I personally think money is a tool." Who could know better?

The worst feature of the long-range section is its false guns and butter promise. It claims the country can have a 50% rise in military spending, a rise of over 100% in government welfare spending, and a rise of from 1.4% to 2.8% per year in per capita consumption concurrently over the next decade.

Such a prediction is simply to lure public support for the already operative military buildup. Trade unionists should note the uncomfortable resemblance between this big business-sponsored promise of both weapons and wealth and that advanced by some top labor leaders.

The N.Y. Times called the new Rockefeller report "the finest statement in many years of the economic choices and opportunities before the American people." It is not likely to impress the millions of unemployed, whose basic need today is united action to fight for relief from the economic crisis.

Melvin Hupman freed on parole

MELVIN "RED" HUPMAN was released from prison on April 18 on parole after serving almost four years of a five-year term on a charge of filing a false non-communist oath under the Taft-Hartley Law. He is probably the first political prisoner to be released on parole since the cold-war witch-hunt began after World War II. With time off for good behavior, he would have been eligible for release next October.

Hupman, a high school football star of the '30's and a General Motors worker, was the first trade unionist (United Electrical Workers), convicted on a T-H oath indictment. He was found guilty in January, 1954, on the testimony of two paid government witnesses. The government could not even prove that he had signed a non-communist affidavit.

A first trial for Hupman in Dayton in 1953 ended with the jury hopelessly split. The government moved a second trial to Cincinnati where a jury took only 18 minutes to convict.

JENCKS PARALLEL: Twice the Supreme Court had refused to hear the case. The second appeal was based on the Jencks decision, which holds that a defendant must have access to pertinent FBI records. The judge in the Jencks' case used almost word for word the judge's denial of FBI files in the Hupman case.

Hupman, a model prisoner in Lewisburg, Pa., Penitentiary, had been transferred to the Mill Point, W. Va., honor camp for Federal prisoners, but all applications for parole (he became eligible in January, 1957) had been denied until last month. A fine of $5,000 must be paid before the parole release date in May, 1960.

In response to letters from Hupman's wife, GUARDIAN readers had contributed generously to the defense fund and had sent money contributions to Hupman in prison. His dormitory one year won the decoration prize because of the flood of GUARDIAN holiday cards. In a letter last week, Mrs. Hupman wrote: "Thanks again to the staff and GUARDIAN readers for all they've done." The Hupmans live in Clarksville, O.

BISHOPS FILE BRIEF

Melish backers fight new move to evict them

EFFORTS of the parishioners of Brooklyn's Holy Trinity church to maintain "freedom of choice within the framework of the Church's faith and practice" have reached another critical stage.

On March 27 Kings County Supreme Court Justice Edward G. Baker ordered the Rev. William Howard Melish—whom the members of the church overwhelmingly support—to vacate the rectory by May 2 or be put out by the sheriff.

Mr. Melish maintained that he was living in the rectory as the guest of his father, the Rev. Dr. John Howard Melish, but Justice Baker said that Bishop DeWolfe of the Long Island Diocese had asked Dr. Melish two months ago to surrender the premises.

NO DUE PROCESS: The 83-year-old Dr. Melish on April 10 appealed the eviction order made "without notice to me and without opportunity to be heard in defense of my rights." He pointed out that a Vestry resolution of April 15, 1951, had named him Rector Emeritus after a rectorship of 45 years and had granted him the right to occupy the rectory. The Vestry, in fact, was then under control of those who now support the Rev. Sidener, whose right to replace the Rev. William Howard Melish as rector was upheld by the Appeals Court last December.

Dr. Melish said: "I was not a party to the Sidener proceeding in which Mr. Justice Baker made his ruling and had no opportunity to defend my prior right to occupy the rectory . . . It will be a sorry day for our country when denial of due process of law is allowed to pass without challenge."

PROTEST: On Easter Monday evening, April 7, more than a hundred members of the church—closed since last July—held a supper meeting in an adjoining gymnasium to demonstrate their continued support for Mr. Melish, whom Bishop DeWolfe for eight years has been trying to oust for alleged left-wing views. They unanimously adopted a resolution offered by Mrs. Frances E. Henry, a parishioner for more than 50 years.

The resolution commended the work of the church wardens and vestrymen the parish had last elected; expressed "deep distress and concern at the indifference of the diocesan authorities to our spiritual welfare"; protested the closing of the church which has "deprived us of the place of worship that is rightfully ours and the sick and shut-in among us the comfort of [the church's] spiritual ministrations."

200 MINISTERS APPEAL: On April 28, a court hearing on Dr. Melish's appeal permitted the filing of an amicus curiae brief signed by over 200 ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Among them were nine bishops and two Chancellors of Diocese in Massachusetts and Georgia.

The brief said: "Most shocking is the fact that the order directing the sheriff to remove Dr. Melish from his home, with its attendant sufferings and indignity, was made by the Court without Dr. Melish being a party to the action and without being given an opportunity of being heard . . . We ask that Dr. Melish be given his day in Court. In his appeal for justice, he must not be left to stand alone."

After hearing arguments from both sides, the court reserved its decision.

THE MAIL BAG

On Feb. 3 the GUARDIAN published a paid advertisement from the Socialist Workers Party calling for joint socialist tickets in the 1958 elections. A full page of letters commenting on the proposal was published on Mar. 3. Following is a sampling of additional letters.

A must, but . . .

BUFFALO, N.Y.

A new political party is a must, be it labor or socialist. The main problems to be attacked by such a party are war and unemployment. The program offered by the SWP seems to me to fail in both respects. It wishes to help "free the countries in the Soviet orbit," which means to overthrow their present governments.

In the field of unemployment the biggest break-through could be made by freeing trade with the socialist countries which would produce some 4,000,000 American jobs. This is not mentioned.

Amy Tiesler

Dissent

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The entire Socialist Workers Party platform (GUARDIAN 2/3), each paragraph preceded by the statement that a socialist solution is the only ultimate cure, is very sectarian and isolationist. Particularly now, when the causes espoused are no longer the sole property of socialists.

The struggle for Negro emancipation is now in the hands of the NAACP, and millions of Americans, both Negro and white. The struggle for peace is now in the hands of the Friends, many other churches, prominent scientists, etc.

I cannot accept the last sentence of point 5, without any exceptions: "Against the support of capitalist parties and candidates . . ." In my own district I certainly want to support such "capitalist" candidates as Councilman Ed Roybal, Assemblyman Ed Elliott and State Senator Richard Richards.

Also, it may be very laudable for an American political party to fight for freedom in the Soviet bloc, but do I need the united socialist ticket to do this? We have the greatest fighter for this cause in the person of John Foster Dulles, our Secretary of State.

There is no word on coexistence. I am told that the SWP does not believe in coexistence. I have not seen it in print nor would I understand it. Not believing in coexistence is to me the same as not believing in breathing.

Jack Fox

Clarification

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A number of important questions have been raised by GUARDIAN readers in the discussion of the proposal for a United Socialist Ticket which the Socialist Workers Party published as an ad in the Feb. 3 GUARDIAN.

First, let me say that we are gratified by the generally favorable response to the proposal for united socialist action in the electoral arena. That differences of opinion would arise over one or another point in the suggested platform by those in favor of the general proposition, was taken for granted. We are convinced that continuing objective discussion will disclose a sufficiently wide area of agreement to permit joint action in the electoral arena by socialists and independents of divergent views and tendencies.

I would like to touch upon one proposition in the proposed platform which has evoked critical comment from some GUARDIAN readers. I refer to the question of "political freedom" for the workers within the Soviet bloc as specifically stated in point 4 of the proposed platform which deals with the very important issue of democratic rights.

To us, the phrase "political freedom" as applied to the people in the Soviet bloc has one essential meaning—workers' democracy. I feel this clarification is necessary because there has been some attempt to identify the SWP's stand on this issue with that of Dulles. As pro-Soviet socialists we consider it self-evident that socialist democracy in the countries of the Soviet bloc must be achieved by action of the people themselves and not by intervention of the bipartisan "liberators" of Wall Street and the Pentagon.

To be consistent, we feel it is incumbent upon American socialists to advocate and support the widest expansion of workers' democracy, not only within American society and the labor movement of this country but in the countries of the Soviet orbit as well; while at the same time taking a clear stand in favor of the basic economic and social achievements of those countries which have abolished capitalism and begun the construction of a new social order.

Tom Kerry
National Organization Secretary, SWP.

London Daily Mirror

"Did you win your wrestling match, dear?"

Dynamic attitude

DETROIT, MICH.

The SWP makes a virtuous principle out of sectarian isolation, the CP makes a virtuous principle out of opportunism. Independents need to reject both of these positions in favor of a dynamic attitude which recognizes that the big obstacle to independent development in America is the hypnosis which the Democratic Party still holds over the labor movement and its members in most labor centers.

Therefore, in certain areas such as Michigan, where the Democratic-labor bloc is very popular, we ought to say: we believe this alliance is wrong and harmful to labor, but since we are in a minority and since you hold strongly to your political perspective, we will go along with you even though we have no confidence in your present outlook. We believe your own actual experiences with your present alliance will show the need for an independent party. We are willing to vote your ticket in to prove this to you. Such an attitude enables us to continue a more friendly, fraternal discussion with the labor movement—as partisans with an independent view—not as rivals. It is suicidal and futile to yield to the SWP's desire to be a rival to the labor movement.

However, occasions arise where an educational opportunity comes up where it is not necessary to directly challenge a bloc vote and appear to endanger what the mass strongly believes to be a more conservative threat. I believe Sarah Lovell's campaign against Miriani was correct, but the SWP's rejection of the entire CIO ticket, with the sole exception of Patrick's candidacy, was incorrect. It will be a long time, if ever, before we get a "pure" labor ticket, and I do not think we should go through another generation looking in on the existing political struggles entirely from the outside.

Name Withheld

Rules for bathing Baby

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The building of a powerful unified socialist movement in the U.S. is an indispensable phase of the struggle for human survival. But a socialist movement based on the SWP proposals could not, in my opinion, strengthen the cause of peace, since those proposals, including as they do scarcely veiled attacks on the Soviet Union, could only intensify the Cold War.

Socialists have every right and obligation to reject the very serious excesses and errors made by the pioneering socialist state—errors which are almost certainly in the process of being liquidated—while acclaiming its very great achievements. But to those who would throw out the socialist baby with the authoritarian bath, I for one say NO.

Ellwood Griest

Our own summit

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

If we base our program on criticism of individuals or nations we are sunk to start with. I remember the demise of the old socialist movement brought about in just this manner by Warren, Spargo and others. It is clear that mistakes have been made in all the countries which have abolished capitalism. And what sane person could expect perfection? Of course there was perfidy among some of the leaders. But who can doubt the force and direction of the movement in these countries?

It is my firm belief that the most objective thinkers among us are, at this point, too inadequately possessed of facts on which to base constructive criticism or unqualified approval of the socialist regimes. And, if we feel it is essential that a leftist movement should rest on the condemnation of some regime, where do we stop?

Carl Sullivan

For a conference

COTATI, CALIF.

We believe that first the various groupings of the Left must get together and develop a curriculum for a study of the American road to socialism. When agreement is reached and a program of education is developed, we can then bring this concept to our local scene for further development.

We therefore hope that a conference will be called by some group of individuals for a discussion of the above named goal. Members of such a group could be such people as: James Aronson, Charlotta Bass, Reuben Borough, James Cannon, Bert Cochran, Benjamin Davis, Dr. Jerome Davis, W. E. B. DuBois, Barrows Dunham, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Vincent Hallinan, Corliss Lamont, Meridel Le Sueur, Claude Lightfoot, Dr. Otto Nathan, A. J. Muste, Scott Nearing, Harvey O'Connor, Joseph Starobin, Anna Louise Strong, Paul Sweezy, Doxey Wilkerson.

A group of poultry farmers

Heikkila editorial

(Continued from Page 1)

terminated, and some 300 cases in all may come within the meaning of the decision.

HEIKKILA'S CASE served to dramatize the Immigration Service methods, which the San Francisco judge before whom Heikkila's case was pending said "smacks of the Gestapo and the rack and thumb-screw," but the Heikkila case was by no means unique. The Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born pointed out April 23 that only 30 days before, Martin Jiminez was kidnaped on a Los Angeles street and deported to Mexico in similar fashion.

In five Los Angeles cases of Mexicans facing deportation the Immigration Service itself has taken steps to halt deportation proceedings because of application of the Rowoldt decision. At the same time a sixth such case was remanded by the U.S. Court of Appeals for reconsideration in the light of Rowoldt.

In all these cases the fact that the individuals were charged with former CP membership, has enabled their cases to be reopened under the Rowoldt decision. But in the cases of thousands of other Mexican nationals in the U.S., mass roundup and "snatch-deportation" is the routine procedure.

At the Eighth Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on March 22, a report disclosed that 750,000 Mexicans were deported in 1957 "without any due process of law . . . without even being given the opportunity to obtain legal counsel, nor gather their belongings or collect their paychecks."

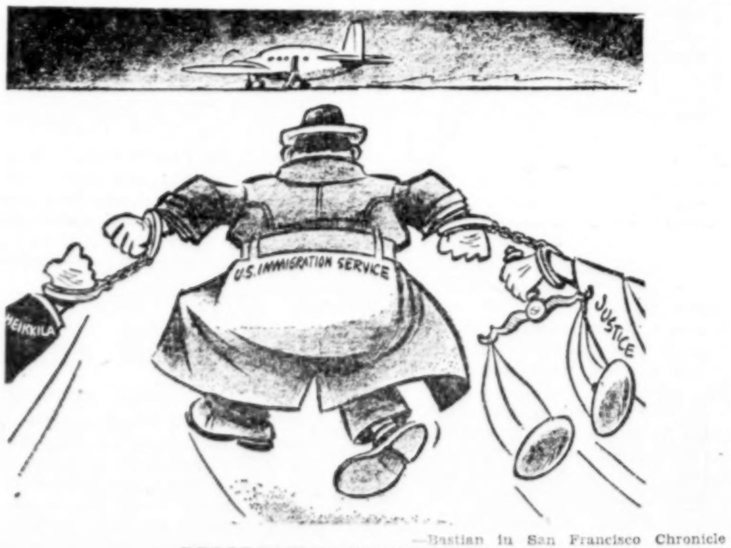
This procedure has been going on since 1951, with stepped-up mass deportations since 1954, when President Eisenhower appointed his old West Point classmate, Gen. Swing, to the post of Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

In 1951, some 518,000 were thus deported; in 1952, 601,196; in 1953, 876,000. Figures for 1954-55-56 were not available in the GUARDIAN library, but they probably did not vary much from the 750,000 deportations reported for 1957.

THE PLANE used to take William Heikkila from San Francisco to Vancouver, B.C., whence another plane took him eastward for the flight to Finland April 19, was one of a fleet of cargo planes maintained by the Immigration Service specifically for deportation of Mexican nationals. On one such plane, which took off with eight deportees for Mexico from El Centro Border Patrol Detention Camp in California April 25, a deportee opened the plane door and leaped to his death on the Arizona desert.

NO LAW ON THE BOOKS in our country has such broad and inclusive opposition, on some or all of its provisions, as the Walter-McCarran Law. Yet each year since its passage in 1952, efforts to amend it or to substitute a humane immigration law have been bypassed by Congress.

Since the law's passage, the GUARDIAN has sought to expose its evil features and has frequently published proposals of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for amendments and changes in the law. This year a bill sponsored by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) has some 28 other Congressmen co-sponsoring it. It is the same bill which was previously known as the Lehman-Celler bill, initiated when former N.Y. Gov. Herbert Lehman was in the Senate.



—Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

DEPORTATION PROCEEDING

The bill would not prevent future Heikkila cases, however. None of the bill's sponsors spoke up in Congress when Rep. Francis E. Walter, co-author of the Walter-McCarran Law, arose in the House April 21 to defend the actions of the Immigration Service in the Heikkila case.

Recently Rep. Celler announced hearings on his bill to be held in May. However, these hearings will come too late for any effective action to change the law in this session of Congress.

We believe the entire law to be a disgrace to the nation. We urge full support to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the only organization fighting the law nationally. The ACPFB has been placed under attack by both the Federal and the N.Y. State government, but is still very much in business at 49 E. 21 St., New York 10, N.Y.

Two reforms proposed by the ACPFB should be accepted without question by all fair-minded Americans—a 5-year statute of limitations on all deportation proceedings against non-citizens; and an end to all denaturalization proceedings once a foreign-born American receives citizenship. The ACPFB also has a bill drafted and waiting for a sponsor in Congress since 1954, aimed at ending the indignities and inhumanity visited annually right after harvest time on the Mexican people throughout our entire Southwest.

—THE GUARDIAN

NO REPETITION OF 1948 SPLIT SEEN

The facts in the Yugoslav-Soviet dispute

By Kumar Goshal

PRESIDENT TITO (r.) AND POLAND'S PREMIER GOMULKA
They say the road to socialism is not straight and narrow

A HARSH VERBAL DUEL between the Yugoslav League of Communists (the ruling party) and the CP of the Soviet Union came to a climax last week during the seventh congress of the Yugoslav party in Ljubljana. At the heart of the controversy, which had dim echoes of the dispute in 1948 that led to a break between Yugoslavia and the rest of the European socialist states, were these contentions:

- Moscow has charged the Yugoslavs with "divergencies from the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory," with distorting "the process of development of social life and theoretical thought in the Soviet Union."
- The Yugoslavs have charged the Soviet leaders with making "their main task the squaring of accounts with Yugoslav Communists, thus interfering in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia."

UNCERTIFIED: In the heat of the controversy, all the socialist governments decided against sending any official fraternal delegations to the congress. Instead, they were represented by their respective ambassadors to Belgrade. On the congress' second day, all but the Polish Ambassador walked out during Yugoslav Politburo member Rankovic's sharp rebuttal of Moscow's charges. The following day, however, they grimly sat through Vice President Kardelj's comment that the Yugoslav Communists needed no certificate of purity from Moscow to prove their loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The controversy apparently began last winter when leaders of the Communist parties of the world gathered in Moscow to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Yugoslavia was represented by Kardelj; President Tito was ill with lumbago.

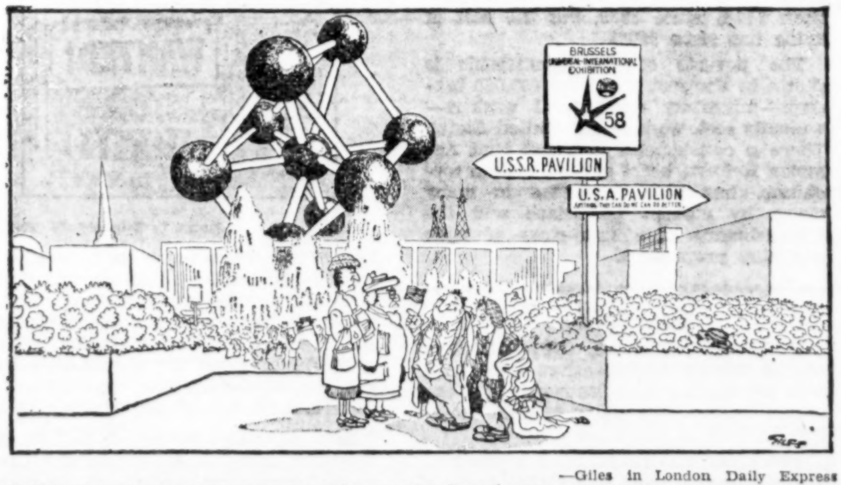
At the celebration, Yugoslavia signed a common appeal for peace but abstained from signing the Declaration of Twelve Communist Parties because, as President Tito later said, "Yugoslavia on certain points was indirectly referred to." It seemed to Tito that Moscow was reneging on Soviet CP leader Khrushchev's earlier acceptance of Tito's theory of "separate roads to socialism."

TITO'S PROGRAM: The Moscow-Belgrade rift began to boil last March when the Yugoslav League of Communists issued a 100,000-word draft party program for discussion at the congress. The first party policy document in ten years, since the expulsion from the Cominform, it made the following points:

- Peaceful transition to socialism is possible in some capitalist countries, since "the capitalist system in its classical form is increasingly a thing of the past," being replaced by "state capitalist tendencies."
- Even while approaching socialism, state capitalism tends to develop a powerful bureaucracy as "master rather than servant of society."
- Such "contradictions" exist also in countries ruled by Communist parties. In the Soviet Union under Stalin, such a bureaucracy affected Soviet foreign policy and "relations between socialist countries. This was particularly evident in Stalin's anti-Yugoslav action."
- "Sound forces in the Soviet society" still must tackle "wider democratization, the participation of workers in management and a serious cutting-back of bureaucratic overgrowth."
- The manner and rate of progress in socialist countries will depend on the concrete conditions of each individual country. "To proclaim the paths and the forms of socialist development in any single country as being solely correct is nothing but dogma."
- "One of the roots of the existence of two antagonistic military-economic blocs in the present-day world—in addition to social and economic causes—derives from the way problems were solved during and after the Second World War."
- Yugoslavia opposes blocs and outside pressures. It believes that "the interest of further socialist development demands free, socialist, democratic relations between the parties of the socialist countries" and not the attempt by one of them to claim "monopoly in the sphere of ideology." Yugoslavia supports Soviet policy of coexistence and East-West cooperation as essentials to world peace.

UNHAPPY POLES: The Soviet CP journal **Kommunist** published a blistering attack on the Yugoslav draft program. It accused the Yugoslavs of diluting Marxism-Leninism; equating Soviet peace policy with the West's "aggressive policy"; distorting "the process of development of social life and theoretical thought in the U.S.S.R." It ridiculed the idea of socialism through evolution without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Polish CP was evidently unhappy at this turn of events. An editorial in its journal, **Trybuna Ludu,** tried to soften the Polish boycott of the Yugoslav congress by saying that "this decision ought to have no influence on the further development of friendly relations" between the two countries.



—Giles in London Daily Express

"Well, the Russians gave us a vodka, so the Americans gave us two rye whiskies, so the Russians gave us four vodkas, so the Americans gave us six rye whiskies, so the Russians gave us eight vodkas, so the . . ."

Trybuna Ludu said it hoped the Yugoslavs would alter their program on the basis of Moscow's "friendly, comradely criticism" and assured them that the Polish Party "stands on the ground of independent activities of all parties and non-interference in their internal affairs."

The Yugoslavs did revise their program before the congress; but they stood their ground on essential points.

POST-STALINISM: In his opening speech, Tito rejected the Soviet accusations and deplored "wrong estimates of the internal development in our country." He said:

- The West's attempts to promote imperialist aims under the guise of "a crusade against communism" threatens "war on a world scale."
- Western military alliances were to some extent brought about by "Stalin's inflexible policy" which isolated and weakened "the position of the Soviet Union in the world." But after Stalin's death, Moscow restored normal relations with Yugoslavia; signed an Austrian treaty; withdrew Soviet troops from China, Austria and Finland; renounced territorial claims against Turkey; liquidated joint companies in China and the Eastern European countries and liberalized relations with them; recognized the independence of young Asian-African countries.
- During Stalin's last years, the workers movements in the world suffered greatly by "receiving and implementing directives from outside" regardless of their applicability in the countries concerned. But after the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, old forms of socialist cooperation began to be replaced by "bilateral relations," giving rise to "a wealth of new forms and experiences that are placed in the service of socialism."

STILL FRIENDS: Speakers who followed Tito were sharper in their repudiation of Soviet accusations. This, with Tito's praise of unconditional U.S. economic aid, prompted many Western observers to speculate on a permanent Moscow-Belgrade breach over doctrinal differences.

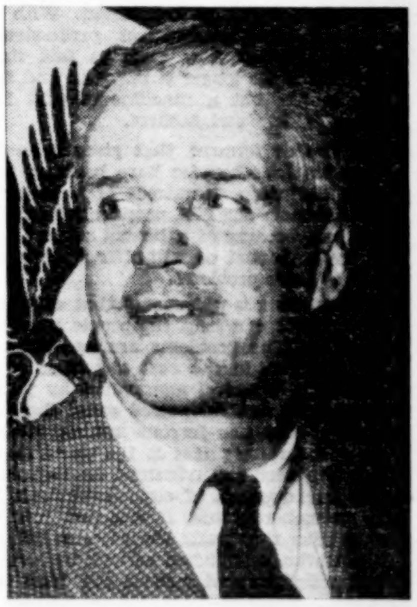
Others, however, saw evidence to the contrary. They felt that Soviet Premier Khrushchev permitted the attack on the Yugoslav program to appease many old-guard Stalinists who still hold influential positions in the Soviet CP and who are opposed to liberalizing the relationship among socialist countries. The **N.Y. Times'** Harrison Salisbury noted that the published version of a recent speech by Khrushchev on Hungary omitted his references to Rakosi and the former CP regime as being responsible for what happened in that country.

The **Kommunist,** while criticizing the Yugoslav program, said that "comradely party criticism must not be an obstacle to further development of friendly relations between our parties and countries." And on April 24 Soviet Presidium member Yekaterina Furtseva said in Warsaw that there would never be a repetition of the 1948 Moscow-Belgrade rupture. Declaring that Soviet chief of state Marshal Voroshilov still intended to visit Yugoslavia this month, she added: "We have been and we will be friends with Yugoslavia—always."

COMRADELY CLOSING: In his closing address to the congress, President Tito said that it would be "only a loss of time" to expect Yugoslavia to renounce its "principled stands" because of outside criticism. But, he added, "comradely, constructive criticism . . . is useful between parties. . . . We should like to solve, in the future, our misunderstandings and disagreements . . . more through comradely understanding. For it would be very tragic if in our mutual relations the road were again taken which proved in the past to be a fatal one . . . Also we shall endeavor not to give cause to be reproached . . . "

The congress, among other things, unanimously resolved to seek cooperation "with Communist and workers' parties" on a voluntary basis of equality, praised Moscow for "unilateral cessation of nuclear weapons tests," and urged elimination of tests, the armaments race and rocket bases around the world.

U.S. court order holds Golden Rule at Hawaii



THE GOLDEN RULE is being held at Honolulu by a temporary court order. The ketch, with its crew of four pacifists, had been scheduled to leave Hawaii for the nuclear testing grounds of the Pacific on April 24 when Federal Judge John Wiig issued the restraining order sought by the government. A hearing on a temporary injunction was set for May 1. Earlier the Atomic Energy Commission had issued special regulations barring Americans from the area. Albert Bigelow (above), skipper of the Golden Rule, had said he was prepared to "violate man's law if it conflicted with God's law." Meanwhile Dr. Albert Schweitzer added his warning: "The human being will be free from the danger to existence itself, caused by radioactive contamination, if the United States and Britain follow the Russian move . . . The problem has nothing whatsoever to do with disarmament. There is not a moment left. Increasing the danger to mankind with further tests cannot be permitted."

PICTURE OF A PATERNALISTIC DEMOCRACY

Background to Mexico's election

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

MEXICO IS CURRENTLY engrossed in a political campaign that is generating considerable warmth despite the fact that there is no major contest. Presidential elections are set for July 6 and Adolfo Lopez Mateos, candidate of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), is a sure winner with only token opposition. Oddly enough, the very certainty of his election is one of the reasons for the high interest in the campaign.

Mexico is long out of the age of dictators. Military men play a smaller political role here than in most Latin American states. Mexico enjoys as much democracy as any other country in the hemisphere, if not more. There have been some individual instances of political reprisal, but throughout the cold war Mexico has been free of red scares, witch hunts, loyalty programs, security purges and mass jailing of communists.

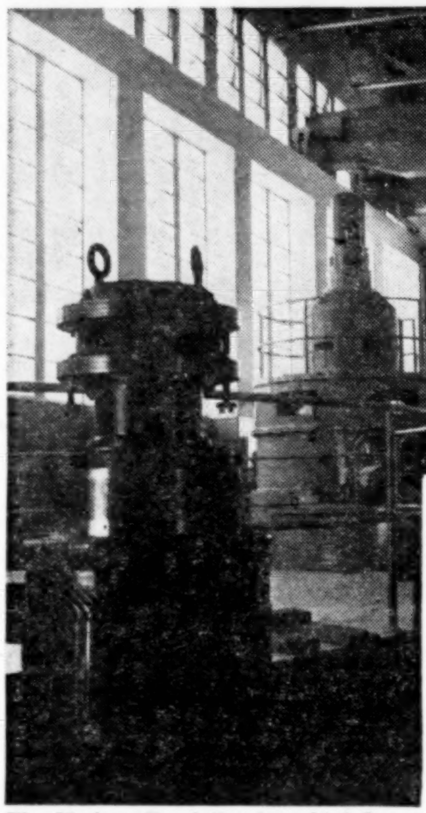
But Mexico's democracy is paternalistically administered from above. The PRI, which theoretically encompasses the interests of all, is the inheritor of the social and economic objectives of the Revolution of 1910 and runs the country without effective opposition from Left or Right. Its leaders choose the president, the state governors and most senators and deputies. On occasion, it has even determined the token representation of opposition groups in the legislature.

POPULAR RESENTMENT: There is general approval of Lopez Mateos, presently Minister of Labor, as the best man the PRI could have put up, but there is considerable resentment at the Tammany-like way in which he and all PRI candidates are selected and the mechanical election procedure which makes their victory a foregone conclusion. With a popular revulsion against professional politicos, many now seem to feel that the PRI is no longer a party of and for the people, but a machine of and for office-holders and seekers.

It is this ferment that gives spice to what might otherwise have been an insipid campaign. Hundreds of thousands come to hear the PRI presidential candidate not because of a heated contest but in the hope that he will offer some solution to their problems.

The feeling is widespread that only the government can help the people improve their lot. The problems are overwhelming: the rise in the cost of living; poverty on the farms, aggravated by years of drought and exhausted soils; the decline of the non-ferrous mining industry with falling prices in the world market; the need for industrial development and improvement of communications. It is remembered that it was not private enterprise that built the present irrigation works, established agricultural credit institutions and carried out land reform.

THE CANDIDATE: Lopez Mateos himself adds interest to the campaign. He often speaks extemporaneously in response to memoranda and petitions handed him by local groups. He has stressed industrial development, the encouragement of small industrialists, land reform and protection of the small farmer, regional diversification and special consideration for depressed areas. In his one foreign policy statement to date, he spoke caustically of the U.S. custom of "buying cheap and selling dear" and indicated that Mexico would follow its own counsel in world affairs.



The Mexican Revolution brought industry to a peasant country, education to an illiterate one, but as yet not enough of either. There are still too few power plants like the one at Santa Barbara (above), too few teachers in the countryside like this one (right) in the Chapas.

There are two other presidential candidates. The right-wing Partido Accion Nacional has nominated a banker's son, Luis H. Alvarez, hardly the most distinguished member of his party and an uninspired campaigner.

Surprisingly, the Communist Party—too small to be on the ballot—has for the first time put up its own candidate. He is 74-year-old Miguel Mendoza Lopez, not a Communist, but a sort of Christian Socialist. He participated in the Revolution of 1910 and was Minister of Education in one of the revolutionary governments. A lawyer, he now emphasizes his Catholic faith and his belief in a "spiritual socialism."

CP efforts to renew its electoral alliance with the Popular Party, led by Vicente Lombardo Toledano, were rejected; the PP has endorsed Lopez Mateos. Two well-known Communists, the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros and the writer Jose Revueltas, have publicly stated that both parties are to blame for the lack of a significant Left opposition.

PEMEX: This election year also marks the 20th anniversary of the nationalization of the oil industry, for years the chief area of plundering by foreign capital. Oil nationalization was not only the crowning achievement of the Mexican revolution but an example to other Latin American lands of how to hold on to their resources.

The revolutionary milestone was celebrated last month in Ciudad Pemex in the tropical state of Tabasco. Ciudad Pemex is a brand-new town, surrounding a new complex of refinery installations by which Mexico expects to become practically self-sufficient in petroleum products. The country has heretofore been a crude oil exporter, and has had to spend valuable foreign exchange to import distilled products. In 20 years, Pemex has consolidated the various foreign-owned companies into a single, nationalized industry which now concentrates on the manufacture and distribution of refined products at home. The development of Pemex has stimulated Mexican industrialization generally without large-scale foreign aid, and has helped the Mexican government resist repeated attempts of American oil companies, backed by Washington, to get back into Mexican oil.

UNEVEN PROGRESS: Mexico has undergone a considerable, general economic development, and the prevailing spirit no longer seems to be that of the famous saying: "Poor Mexico, so far from God and so near the United States."

But the benefits of progress have been distributed very unevenly. Available figures on the distribution of national income indicate that the share of the wage earners was proportionately less in 1955 than in 1939, while the percentage of profits has risen sharply. Wages have risen 340% since 1939, but the cost of living has risen 560%.

The poverty of the countryside is shown in the fact that over 400,000 braceros—migratory agricultural workers—annually seek work in the United States. There is considerable criticism that Agrarian Reform, heart of the Mexican revolution, has been frustrated in many places by corrupt politicians and the establishment of a new class of large capitalist proprietors.

* * *

Fast talker

BURNHAM, England, (UP)—Members of the Young Conservatives here have been advised not to invite members of the opposition Socialist party to their meetings.

The order was issued after a group of young Tories invited a Socialist to their meeting and he converted the group to socialism.

—**Tucson Daily Citizen, 3/3**

Security firings

(Continued from Page 1)

with the results achieved." But he said the choice was up to the executive branch of the government and the courts could not interfere. Judge John A. Danaher and Wilbur K. Miller concurred.

When the Supreme Court gets the Greene case on a further appeal the judges may weigh Judge Washington's opinion alongside a decision handed down in 1955 by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in California in the case of a group of seamen screened out of their jobs by the Coast Guard. The issues in that case were almost exactly those involved in Greene's suit.

A DIFFERENT RULING: In a sweeping and emphatic decision Judges Walter L. Pope and Thos. F. McAlister wrote in 1955:

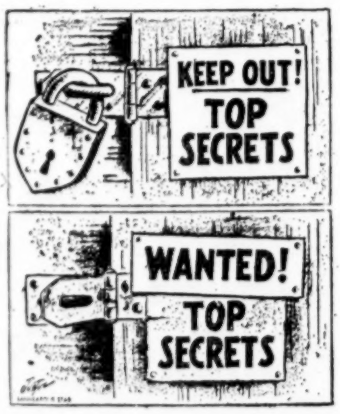
"The liberty [of the seamen] to follow their chosen employment is no doubt a right more clearly entitled to constitutional protection than the right of a government employe to obtain or retain his job . . . The whole question here is whether the danger to national security is of such a character and magnitude that the ancient and generally accepted rights of notice and hearing envisioned by the Fifth Amendment may be denied to these seamen citizens."

The Court added: "Is this system of secret informers, whisperers and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying to the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?"

The decision outlawed Coast Guard screening. The government might have appealed the 1955 decision but chose not to run the risk of a further and more definitive rebuff from the Supreme Court. In the Greene case it is not up to the Government but to Greene to appeal for a final ruling from the Supreme Court.

INDUSTRIAL BLACKLIST: The Coast Guard complied with the 1955 Court order by stamping the papers of the formerly screened seamen as "validated." At that point the unions, particularly the Natl. Maritime Union, took up where the government left off and blacklisted all those who turned up at the hiring hall with "validated" papers. On the East Coast the Seamen's Defense Committee Against Coast Guard Screening has filed suit against the NMU and some of the shipping companies for maintaining a blacklist.

Since 1955 thousands have lost their jobs in private industry under the industrial security program of the Defense Dept. Though few union spokesmen have gone as far as the Ninth Circuit Court in upholding the right of a man to his job, many have protested the procedure. A. J. Hayes, president of the Intl.. Assn. of Machinists, said that it "closely parallels the Star Chamber proceedings of early English history abolished in 1641."


KEEP OUT!
TOP SECRETS
WANTED!
TOP SECRETS

Justus in Minneapolis Tribune

In a pamphlet published in 1956 the AFL-CIO failed to challenge the principle of the screening program but called for participation by organized labor in the program to assure the "ancient safeguards."

NEW REPORT SHOWS JUVENILE VIOLENCE RISING

Many answers to youth crime -- no solution yet

By Elmer Bendiner

THE FEDERAL BUREAU of Investigation last week reported that all across the country—in farm areas, in towns and big cities—a record high number of youngsters under 18 are being hauled into court for a wide variety of crimes, most of them violent.

Statistics are not always reliable. Crime classifications change and the resulting fever charts may give false readings. Dragnet round-ups of youth when hysteria grips a community falsely inflate the arrest total. On the other hand those who break the law and get away with it go unrecorded. Still, the trend seems unmistakable and ominous.

According to the FBI—whose estimates on crime may be less loaded than its estimates of political threats—in 1,220 cities the 1957 over-all total of arrests was 4.3% above the previous year's, but arrests of those under 18 were up 9.8%. Juveniles accounted for 12.3% of all arrests, but 47.2% of arrests for murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and car theft.

RISING TIDE: Even without the FBI, the general public knew that more kids than ever were in deep trouble. It is true that "terror in the streets" sells newspapers on dull days. But even veteran social workers say that crime by youngsters is more frequent and bloodier than ever before.

Gangs are an old habit; broken windows and broken heads have been the casualties of youth in many generations. But since World War II in the U.S. the gangs have spread out, developed deeper roots and involved more youngsters, say these trained observers. Above all, the war made available to the boys deadlier weapons and gave them a sense of the cheapness of life that has led to the abandonment of earlier inhibitions.

THE WAR IN THE STREETS
Are class differences the cause?

Adults have watched the waves of mayhem and murder with mounting horror and often with a self-righteous anger. As during the trial of the boys charged with the murder of 16-year-old Michael Farmer in New York, many parents and educators have denounced the boys as "hoods," "monsters," "savages," "born criminals."

Some have called for vengeance and clamored for death sentences. Others, understandably concerned for the safety of their own children or of themselves, have demanded the offenders be put away. Death sentences have been meted out and our prisons and reform schools overflow without noticeably deterring a boy or a man from crime. And the tide of violence sweeps on.

MANY ANSWERS: Others tend to see these boys as psychiatric or social-work cases, the products of broken homes, the victims of obsessions; maladjusted children requiring individual analysis. In some cases they are right—but if this were the general picture the upcoming generation would seem to be on the verge of mass insanity. Our clinics and hospitals are overcrowded to the point of collapse. Yet the tide of violence increases.

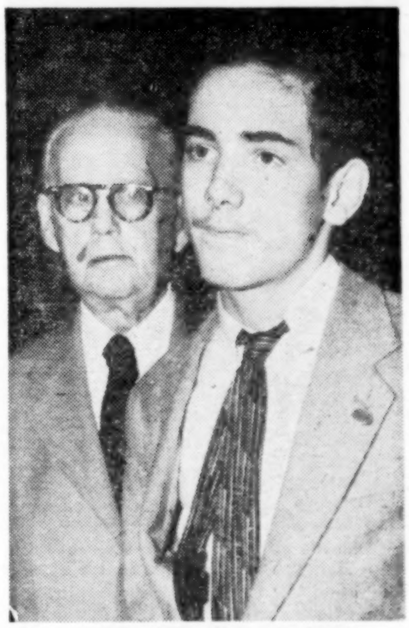
Some think that the need is for more playgrounds, for a touch of greenery in a slum. Unquestionably playgrounds are needed and a grassy green is better than a heavily trafficked street, but children join gangs that meet in playgrounds and rumbles take place in parks.

Some call for more help for the Boy Scouts and the Police Athletic League with the notion that hiking and track meets will consume the boys' energy and leave them no steam for gang explosions. Undoubtedly the Scouts and the PAL do a useful job for many kids, but delinquents rarely join the Scouts and a boy may be a PAL and a Dragon or a Jester on the side. Religion is recommended as a tempering force, but parochial schools turn out as high a percentage of gang members as the public schools. Where then is the answer?

CLASS LINES: Sociologist Albert K. Cohen, former director of orientation of the Indiana Boys School for juvenile delinquents, has offered another approach. In his book, **Delinquent Boys, The Culture of the Gang** (Free Press, Glencoe, Ill., 198 pp., $3.50). Cohen argues that in part at least, the trouble stems from the class make-up of the U.S. He grants that class lines are fuzzy, that there is no clear-cut demarcation, but the lines exist.

It is not only a question of searing poverty on one hand and comforts on the other. Cohen maintains that there are varying standards of ambition, conduct and morality between the two classes and that the dominant thinking of our society attempts to force into its middle-class mold a working class youth with contrary objectives. The result for many boys is defeat or rebellion.

Our schools, books, movies are geared to the middle-class family whose sons are told they can rise to the top on their own steam, who are told they have a white-collar future. The hero is the rugged individual. The standards are measused in terms of a handsome yearly income, a comfortable home in the suburbs. It may be that many workers share such ambitions but, by and large, the average working man, says Cohen, scarcely aspires even to a foreman's job. He has no illusions about the future of his kids in suburbia. He lives to the last cent of his weekly paycheck and, when in trouble, he is used to turning to others for help, without embarrassment.



A KID AND HIS LAWYER
John McCarthy has been acquitted of a murder charge at 15 but he faces a bleak future.

THE DIFFERENCES: His sons inherit the workers' standards by and large. To many of them the middle-class sermons on self-reliance, money in the bank and ambition are phony. When he fails to measure up to the standards of the middle class society, society develops a contempt for him and the feeling is mutual. After the contempt comes the rebellion.

It is not true that juvenile delinquency is a working-class disorder. The children of the middle and upper classes commit their share of senseless crimes. Not all of these appear in police statistics because money is available to hush a scandal. It is true, however, that by and large, gangs are formed by the children of the poor.

The need to join a group, to win the respect of the fellows, is common to all youths, but a fraternity is different from a gang. A gang must be all that a frat is and much more. In some cases it must make up for the lack of a family. It must be a way out of a drab, dull life. It must promise adventure, prestige, respect. Frat members get their glories and their applause elsewhere. Frat members have a future. Gang members would give anything to have even a bearable present.

NO QUICK CURE: Cohen does not make the point, but it is plainly true, that the boys around the candy store are face to face with the phoniness of our times every day. Frat boys tend to be a part of the phoniness and fail or refuse to see it clearly for that reason. The boys in the street see the corruption of cops at first hand and thereafter laugh at the majesty of the law. They are beaten, kicked and caged in the precinct house and thereafter treat skeptically appeals to play nice.

Add to this the bitter gall of racial discrimination, the glorification of men who kill in cowboy suits or army uniforms, the sanctification of the nuclear bomb which makes pikers of the gang—it is then harder to talk the boys out of a rumble and harder still to look self-righteously at youthful "hoods."

No one has come up with a quick cure for juvenile delinquency. It is a help, though, to know what can only make matters worse: reliance on the nightstick, the electric chair and the prison.

Certainly adults can not come close to a solution until they begin to understand why kids behave as they do. Sociologist Cohen does not pretend to have the total answer but his class analysis enlarges the area of research. Educators might take it from there and see how schools and standards can more closely match the experience of the candy-store crowd. Until then it may be hard to reach the boys, much less teach them.

Russians reply; Ike doesn't

On Jan. 18 this year Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont addressed identical letters to President Eisenhower and the then Premier Bulganin uring both leaders, unilaterally if necessary, to end nuclear weapons testing. This month Mr. and Mrs. Lamont received the following letter from Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. Few U.S. newspapers found the official reply of the Soviet government newsworthy and it was all but blacked out in the American press.

To date, the Lamonts have received no acknowledgement of any kind of their letter to President Eisenhower.

DEAR MR. AND MRS. LAMONT: Your letter of Jan. 18 addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. in which you expressed your anxiety concerning the continuing tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons and called for consideration of the unilateral termination of these tests by the Soviet Union has been read in the U.S.S.R. with great attention. In your letter you mentioned that you had made an analogous appeal to President Eisenhower.

We fully agree with the opinion expressed in your letter that the continuation of testing nuclear weapons represents a serious threat to man's life and health and that the cessation of these tests would represent a considerable step toward strengthening peace.

I should like to note that the Soviet Government has many times made concrete proposals on simultaneous termination by the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain of nuclear weapons tests. Unfortunately, the Governments of the United States and Great Britain have so far not agreed to it.

I HOPE THAT it is already known to you that the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., prompted by the desire to set in motion the implementation of this very important measure and thus to make the first step toward ridding mankind of the danger of annihilating atomic war, adopted on March 31 of this year the Resolution on the Soviet Union's Unilateral Cessation of Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons Tests. Now it is for the other states, possessing nuclear weapons, for their Governments and parliaments to say their word.

I would like to express the deep conviction shared by the Soviet people that all those who sincerely strive for the establishment of stable peace and friendship between the nations will persistently work for the termination of tests of the atomic and hydrogen weapons so that it will be achieved everywhere and forever.

Sincerely yours,
A. Gromyko

April 16, 1958

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BOOKS

A challenge to education's aim of conformity

JOHN KEATS
Between snobbery and conformity

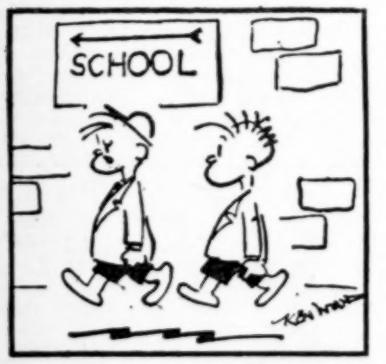
AFTER THE SOVIETS launched Sputnik I Americans, in wounded pride, began to look critically at their schools. But then the Explorer went up and now there seems little incentive to change a venerated pattern of neglect that was good enough for our fathers and should be good enough for us.

In that brief lucid moment when we doubted ourselves there were ponderous pronouncements by educators and a great many scare pieces by journalists. Among the earnest searching looks at the situation is this sprightly book* by John Keats, relative and namesake of the poet, who asserts the parent's prerogative to know what goes on with his children. As he points out, it is a prerogative few parents exercise.

He doesn't tackle the problem from the familiar angle of surveying budgets which are admittedly too low, buildings too old and too few, and teachers too few and too underpaid. These points Keats takes for granted. He is concerned with the underlying questions of why we educate, whom we hope to educate and how.

THE ANSWERS are difficult and there is little common agreement among educators. Some say that the aim is to educate everybody to the point where each is "well adjusted and helpful in his community." That objective has the seeming merits of sweeping democratic scope and social aim. Its adherents break completely with the aristocratic picture of the scholar and the cultivated gentleman. They see little point in education for its own sake.

A dean of a teacher's college, who put his views into this capsule formula, said that a man who was well adjusted and helpful could be considered educated if he could neither write his name nor count on his fingers.



News of the World, London
"Back to the brain-washing."

That theory, in its extreme application, leads to high schools in which a good deal of time is given over to courses in hair-curling, car-driving, the correct behavior when dating, baton twirling, and, at least in one school examined by Keats, fly-casting. If one holds that adjustment to the community is the aim, and if the community is a middle-class suburb, these courses may be far more appropriate than Latin, calculus or history.

THE PHILOSOPHY behind the widespread sloughing over of history is that education must equip one to live in the present and that the past is irrelevant. The study of literature tends nowadays to concentrate on contemporary authors, on biographies of Walt Disney and verses by Ogden Nash. Some extreme advocates of this point of view feel that reading is chiefly useful because it enables one to follow instructions. Writing comes in handy when a telephone call is impractical.

In the lower grades the theory leads to instruction by means of fun and games. Proponents argue that a child learns best when happy, to which Keats, in effect, answers that the learning process has never been painless. The school which teaches with play-acting and movies follows through to its aim: the completely adjusted, and therefore completely happy and well educated American. This passion for adjustment, the constant concern with harmonious relations with the group, Keats points out, bears deadly fruits in conformity. The maverick, the rebel, the non-conformist is obviously not going to come out of the school of life-adjustment. Neither is the poet or the scholar.

For contrast there is the rugged old schoolmaster drilling his students in Latin declensions, making no efforts to teach calculus with puppets, forcing the venerable classics upon his groaning students, teaching history as history and not as a project in a catch-all known as social studies. For him learning is important to the individual and the individual is his concern. He rates each student on his own achievements; a spirit of cooperation in examination is severely frowned upon.

KEATS leans to the classic pattern and invites a charge of snobbery. He writes: "Whenever you begin to explore the human mass, you run the risk of having to hold your nose." Those children who cannot take the schoolmaster's tough hurdles he would allow to leave school altogether and he suggests that child labor laws be altered to allow the hurdle dodgers to be useful rather than educated.

A parent facing these two schools of thought is likely to founder somewhere between snobbery and conformity. The old school pays no mind to the needs of communal living. The new school tends to produce slavish, smug conformists to a middle class society.

Most schools, the author points out, are compromises between these two divergent philosophies. There must be very few schools indeed that can turn out a child who knows something of the world he lives in and who has been trained in the habits of independent thought so that he can question all of it. This may in part account for the perpetuation of the two-party system, on the one hand, and the odd, violent, misdirected rebellion of the young who cannot be school-adjusted.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**SCHOOLS WITHOUT SCHOLARS*, by John Keats. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. 202 pp. $3.*

One drink and you think you see pink dinosaurs

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY pounds of ice, cut from a New Zealand glacier dating back to prehistoric times, were flown to New York to chill cocktails at a dinner next Monday for Sir Leslie Munro, New Zealand's ambassador. Before the ancient ice goes into the cocktails it must pass a bacteriology test for purity. If not pronounced safe, the ice will be used to cool the champagne.

—**Cleveland News, 4/18**

FIRST NOVEL IN U.S. BY AN ALGERIAN ARAB

Human prelude to the 'dirty war'

AT A TIME when the Algerians' struggle for freedom is having world-wide repercussions, Mouloud Mammeri provides the human background of the conflict in his novel, **The Sleep of the Just.***

This is the story of a group of Algerian villagers and the way they are affected by World War II. The old people expect no change, the young men differ in their hopes and aspirations. Young Sliman feels it is a just war against fascism, out of which will come a better and freer world for all.

His oldest brother, Mohand, dying of tuberculosis contracted while working in a French factory, is bitter and cynical. The major part of the novel is concerned with the middle brother, Arezki, who believes in neither God nor Devil, who is uprooted from his tribal past but is rejected by the French though he is steeped in French culture.

AREZKI JOINS the French army, suffers from racial discrimination, roams futilely in Paris as a wounded and disillusioned veteran seeking justice for himself and his people, returns home only to be arrested and sentenced to jail for 20 years for a crime he did not commit. His is the tragedy of the young colonial who drinks deep of the Western culture and idealism which the Western imperialists themselves fail to honor. His simpler younger brother finds satisfaction in joining others in the inevitable post-war fight for liberation.

This is an often bitter but always moving novel, with vivid scenes of the Algerians' struggle against both the meaningless remnants of a feudal past and the present colonial oppression, presented in an excellent English translation from the French by Len Ortzen. The old Algerian, for example, unjustly deprived of his few earthly possessions by a French official, tells him: "One must needs despise men wholeheartedly to consent to govern them as you govern them." Arezki, at the end, says that the task of a French judge "is to pass sentence, not to probe its justness."

The author is an Algerian Arab who teaches at the Lycée Ben Aknoun in Algiers. His publishers say that this is the first book by an Algerian Arab to appear in translation in the U.S. It is a brilliant and welcome addition to the still small list of novels by Africans and Asians available in this country.

—**Kumar Goshal**

**THE SLEEP OF THE JUST*, by Mouloud Mammeri, translated by Len Ortzen. Beacon Press, Inc., Beacon Hill, Boston. 228 pp. $3.50.*

She'll tell her son of 6,400 friends

Mrs. Rose Sobell, shown above with the Rev. Peter McCormack, former Protestant chaplain at Alcatraz, this week will be visiting her son Morton in Atlanta Penitentiary to tell him of the thousands of persons who have signed an appeal to the President for his freedom. Rev. McCormack spoke at a meeting for Sobell in New York's Community Church April 21.

Wanted: Home for a well-adjusted killer

IN THE LOS ANGELES CITY NEWS, a community newspaper, there recently appeared this editor's note over a story headlined: "Hungarian Freedom Fighter Seeks Help From Americans." The note said:

"If the purpose for printing this story succeeds, Stephen, that is his name, will have the opportunity normally accorded an American boy, and his dream will be realized. This appeal is addressed to generous American families who would like to have Stephen live with them while he attends school. The following is an introduction to Stephen Szabo." The lead of the story follows:

"Stephen Szabo, 17, is a senior at Belmont High School. He weighs 152 pounds and stands five foot nine. He has a full crop of wavy brown hair and his hands are tough like leather. He is personable, well-adjusted, handsome, and he's killed Communists."

Negro vote drive

(Continued from Page 1)

to register as voters." Those who survive these obstacles must face them again in order to cast their ballots. And "if they indicate a desire to run for office or pose a threat to entrenched segregationists, they face repeated purges of the registration or voting lists or actual carving up of entire counties in order to nullify any effective participation in politics."

The conference was sponsored by an interracial committee of prominent Washingtonians and coordinated by the S.C.E.F. and was attended by some 800 persons.

They applauded as keynoter Aubrey Williams, S.C.E.F. president, said: "We must recognize the Negro's struggle for what it is—the spearhead which is challenging the hypocrisy of American political party alignment and which, if it succeeds, can clear the ground of the creeping fascism and totalitarianism which is inherent in the thinking of the power elite and their supporters, the conservatives and reactionaries of both parties."

SUPPORT NEEDED: Nine leading participants in registration campaigns stretching from one end of the South to the other reported on the situation in their states. The composite reports pointed to the conclusion that without a faster tempo, improved organization and large-scale political and financial support from the nation at large, the goal of doubling Southern Negro registration by 1960 seems an unlikely objective.

DR. CHARLES G. GOMILLION
He lists Alabama's barriers

Nabrit pointed out that Negro registration in the South was 1,238,038 in 1956 and said the prospect for 1960 is a total increase of 1,000,000. He warned that this objective may depend on how the Civil Rights Commission functions. If the commission "does a dynamic and effective job, this increase will certainly occur and it could in fact be doubled. If the commission is ineffective or weak in its technique, timid in its approach, and apologetic in its report, this increase can actually be less."

Difficulties faced by Negroes in a rural county were described by Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, dean of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and president of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. Though Negroes are 30% of Alabama's population of voting age, only 6% are registered. Some boards of registrars require Negro applicants to have white voters to vouch for them—often an impossible task.

HOW IT'S DONE: An additional barrier is the registration questionnaire of 21 questions, some with several parts, all of which must be completed without error. Non-functioning boards is another problem. Sometimes only one registrar reports for work and is prohibited from processing applications because the law requires that two members of the three-member boards be present.

For those who succeed in registering, other methods may keep them from voting. Some can't or forget to pay the Alabama $1.50 poll tax. Some believe that "one vote does not matter" or that "Negro votes are not counted." Some are not permitted by white employers to take time off to go to the polls; others are threatened. Some have met violence.

THE MAIN WEAPON: Reports from Georgia, Mississippi and Florida indicated that violence remains a widespread last-ditch deterrent to Negro registration and voting. Austin T. Walden, veteran civil rights attorney of Atlanta, pointed out that "Negroes have been driven out of the community, their homes fired into at night . . . Threats, intimidation, economic reprisals, cross-burnings in their neighborhoods on nights before elections—these have been some of the devices used to deter Negroes from exercising their suffrage rights."

The result is that more than four-fifths of the current registration of 160,000 Negroes were put on the books in the two years following "the legal demise of the white primary" in 1944. The goal of reaching the Negro potential of 650,000 voters is still far away.

Father La Bauve reported for the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership. In only six out of Mississippi's 82 counties do Negroes vote freely, he said. He pointed out that his organization had instituted classes among Negroes in interpretation of the Mississippi constitution, a registration requirement under state law.

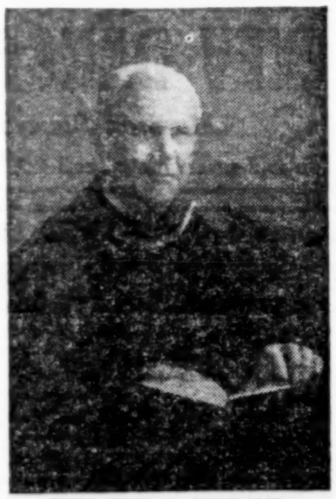
THE VISITORS: It was reported that three members of Sen. James O. Eastland's staff and six White Citizens Council members from nearby Virginia sat in the audience as the young Negro priest challenged the Dixiecrats and said: "They feel their traditions are too dear to give up without a fight. They are going to get a fight."

Appealing to "every fair-minded man and woman in the U.S. and in the world to consider our plight in the South," Father La Bauve declared: "We are not beaten. We are doing what we feel free men should do."

Rev. Ben F. Wyland of St. Petersburg, exec. secy. of the Florida Council for Racial Cooperation, related an incident involving Rev. Dee Hawkins and three other Negroes who went to register in Liberty County. The supervisor was polite and registration was routine, but that night "all hell broke loose." Rev. Hawkins wrote to Rev. Wyland: "They are causing me to leave home. I was bombed-shot in my home." He fled from Liberty County.

OTHER STATES: Purges of voter lists in Louisiana were described by Kenneth Walker, editor of a small-town weekly, the Colfax **Chronicle**. Despite registration challenges, some intimidation, and a low level of literacy, which Walker viewed as the main problem in his state, Negro registration has risen from 97,101 in 1952 to 152,387 in 1956.

Pointing out that "voting restrictions in Virginia are designed to keep the electorate small and controllable," attorney W. Hale Thompson of Newport News emphasized that the denial of employment and credit is widely used to discourage Negro voting. Of 750,000 Negroes in Virginia, slightly more than 80,000 are qualified.



REV. BEN F. WYLAND
Tells of Florida violence

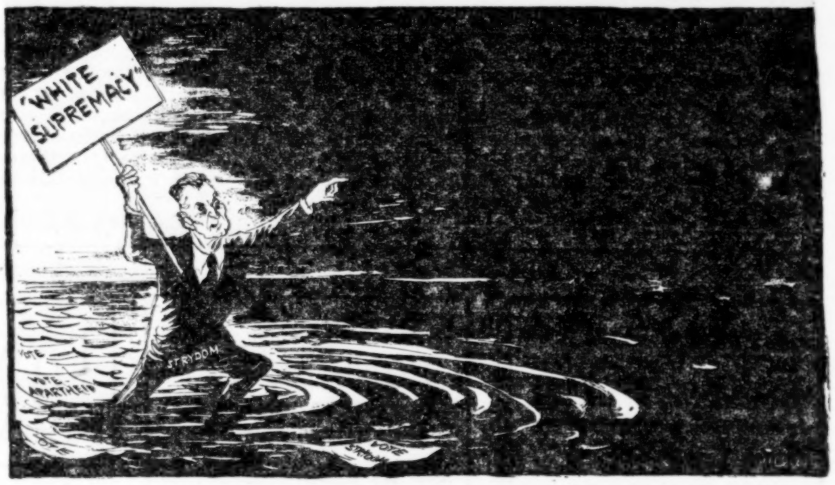
Mrs. Madjeska M. Simkins, S.C.E.F. vice-president of Columbia, S.C., reported that "a thorough check of possible difficulties surrounding voter registration in South Carolina failed to turn up reports of obvious restrictions, except in Williamsburg County, of which Kingstree is the county seat."

The problem in North Carolina centers largely around literacy tests, used mainly in the northeastern part of the state, according to Miss Willson Whitman, author and editor of Southern Pines. In two counties, Northampton and Halifax, cases have been brought in State and Federal courts to challenge the validity of the tests.

The conference ended with adoption of a resolution calling for "immediate remedial action especially during an election year by the Executive and Legislative branches of government and a prompt disposition of any litigation affecting the voting rights of individuals." It urged "immediate confirmation by the Senate Judiciary Committee of the personnel of the Civil Rights Commission."

THE CONFERENCE AT ACCRA

Eight African nations unite to liberate all colonial people



—Vicky in London Daily Mirror

IN DARKEST AFRICA

IN THE SUNNY and cheerful city of Accra—capital of the West African state of Ghana—a remarkably harmonious nine-day conference of foreign ministers of eight independent African states and delegations from three colonial independence movements ended April 23. The emergence of a new force in world affairs was marked with joyous calypso, band music and pageantry at a ceremonial tribute in Accra Stadium.

At the invitation of Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah, ministers came from Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic (Egypt-Syria-Yemen). The Algerian National Liberation Front and the French Togoland and Cameroons liberation movements sent delegations. The Union of South Africa refused to attend.

THE THEME: Nkrumah declared that liberation of all colonial peoples was the principal objective of the conference; he said at the opening session: "Hands off Africa. Africa must be free." The conference gave top priority to Algerian independence.

It recognized the Natl. Liberation Front as the sole legitimate authority in Algeria; urged France to accept the Algerians' right to freedom and to negotiate with the NLF; appealed to France's friends to bar military aid to her in Algeria and to all nations to press for an end to the bloodshed. It promised "every possible effort" to help the Algerians in their fight for freedom.

WHO DECIDES? The conference criticized restrictions in French election laws in Togoland and condemned French military measures against the Cameroons nationalists. It demanded that a definite date be set for independence of the remaining African colonies and said that "the colonial peoples themselves should decide when they are ready for independence, as in the cases of Ghana and Nigeria."

The last point has always been particularly difficult for the imperialist powers to accept. Their viewpoint was expressed by a N.Y. **Times** editorial (4/23) which criticized the Accra resolution and said that the Western nations are promoting "self-government and freedom among still dependent people according to their 'varying stages of advancement' and the demands of international peace and security.."

Colonial peoples, however, believe in the right of all peoples to be free at all times and have often noted that on the basis of "the demands of international peace and security" the imperialist powers themselves hardly met the **Times'** requirements.

NO JOINING OF BLOCS: The Accra conference, in fact, urged early freedom for the remaining African colonies precisely because continued colonialism was endangering their own peace and security. They pointed out that the Algerian war had even prompted the fantastic demand by the French Right for the reconquest of Tunisia.

The Accra nations also condemned "all forms of outside interference" in their internal affairs; adopted a common policy of "non-entanglement" with any of the great powers; opposed the French decision to test nuclear weapons in the Sahara and urged a world-wide test ban and a halt in nuclear weapons production.

The conference was aware of the dangers of the continued Israeli-Arab conflict (Ghana, Liberia and Ethiopia have diplomatic relations with Israel) but the resolution on the conflict called only for "a just solution" of the Palestine problem. It also condemned South Africa's racist policies and its annexation of Southwest Africa and British policy in Central Africa and Kenya.

AFRICAN COMMISSION: To promote the development of a "distinctive African personality," the conference decided to set up a permanent machinery consisting of the UN representatives of the member nations. This group has already persuaded the UN to establish an Economic Commission for Africa, patterned after the commissions for Asia and the Far East, Europe and Latin America. The U.S. last week declined to join the commission in the hope that the Soviet Union would follow suit. The Accra nations said it would be "unrealistic" to exclude either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R.

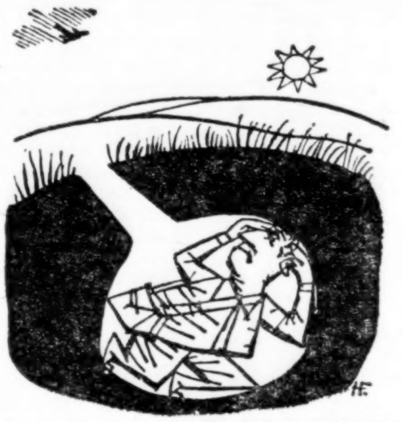
The Accra conference was a logical sequel to the 1955 Bandung Conference and the recent Afro-Asian Peoples Congress in Cairo. Its decisions strikingly resembled those taken at the earlier conferences, and were bound to influence a conference in Tangiers of the leading Tunisian and Moroccan political parties and the Algerian NLF, which opened April 27.

There's another train coming

The following is an extract from an unpublished comment on preparing for nuclear war by Philip Toynbee, son of the eminent British historian Arnold Toynbee, novelist and London **Observer** foreign correspondent.

"The issue has nothing to do with politics. It has little to do with causes and highmindedness. Those who have had at least a partial vision of our destruction are like people who have leant out of the window of an express train and seen that a bridge is down a little further along the line. They are urging the driver and their fellow-passengers that the train should be stopped. But the others reply, many of them from behind their newspapers, that the train can't possibly be stopped because they have important engagements in the city. As for the bridge, it may not be down after all, and even if it is the train will probably manage to jump across it somehow. Besides, it does no good to the reputation of our railways if express trains are to be halted this way. And finally, we ought surely to be aware that there is another express train coming in the opposite direction which will certainly fall down into the river just as soon as we do."

London **New Statesman**



—De Groene, Amsterdam

G.D.H. Cole to speak in N. Y.

PROF. G.D.H. COLE, Research Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford Univ., and Britain's foremost labor and socialist historian, will be the featured speaker at the 9th Anniversary Meeting of Monthly Review Assoc. on Tues., May 27, 8:30 p.m. at Roosevelt Auditorium, 100 E. 17 Street, N.Y.C. The subject of Prof. Cole's talk will be "Socialism and Capitalism in the World Today."

Other speakers will be Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, editors of **Monthly Review.** Prof. C. Wright Mills of the Dept. of Sociology, Columbia U., author of **The Power Elite**, will act as chairman.

Admission is $1 in advance, $1.50 at the door. Tickets may be ordered from Monthly Review Associates, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N.Y

PUBLICATIONS

Important Books That Others Did Not Dare to Print

Seven years ago, on a Sunday afternoon in Central Park, the editors of *Monthly Review* found I. F. Stone in a pessimistic mood. One commercial publisher after another had rejected his manuscript on *The Hidden History of the Korean War.* Almost on the spot we decided to become publishers of good books that were politically or socially unacceptable to the established houses.

Stone's book sold 14,000 copies—all we printed. Harvey O'Connor's *The Empire of Oil* sold 10,000—all we printed. Fourteen other books from *MR Press* found the audience they merited. All of these books got to interested readers despite a virtual boycott by reviewers in the commercial press.

We are now about to publish our 17th book—one that in some ways will be the most important of all:

The Wall Between

By ANNE BRADEN

This dramatic book tells what turns decent, neighborly people into a violent mob. Anne Braden found out when she and her husband, Carl, bought a house in a white suburb of Louisville and sold it to a Negro friend.

But the author goes much further. She probes beneath the headlines and opens up to us the fears, the dreams, and the lives of the people who dwell in the shadows on either side of the wall of segregation.

Order Anne Braden's book now for only $3. On publication day, July 14, the price will be $5. You can save still another dollar by ordering the book in combination with a one-year subscription to *MONTHLY REVIEW*, the magazine edited by *Leo Huberman* and *Paul M. Sweezy.*

MONTHLY REVIEW PRESS
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HISTORY & CONSCIENCE:
The Case of Howard Fast
by HERSHEL D. MEYER

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Sun., May 11, 8:30 p.m.
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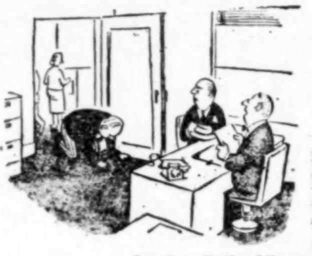
THE GALLERY

THE MEETING ON THE ELBE RIVER in Germany on April 25, 1944, of Russian and American GIs has been a symbol of the unity that defeated fascism. Through the cold war years members of the units in the meeting have kept contact. In 1955 Joseph Polowsky, a Chicago bus driver, led a group of Elbe veterans to Moscow for a reunion with their Russian buddies. The Soviets paid all expenses. Polowsky vowed to return the gesture.

Last week five Russian veterans arrived in Washington at Polowsky's invitation. The reunion was joyous—but Polowsky said he would be $1,000 in debt after paying hotel and living expenses for the group. He said he had appealed to American veterans groups for funds and was ignored. A mailing to 300 prominent Americans netted less than $200.

The Russians offered to pay their own way but Polowsky refused. He said to him it was a matter of honor. Long on honor and memory and a desire for international friendship, Polowsky was to be short $1,000. For a bus driver with two children this was a big price. His address is 1507 N. Hoyne Av., Chicago 22, Ill.

WHEN NEW YORK BUSINESSMAN Paul Sayres visited India earlier this year, he was told that he was not permitted to speak with Indian leaders unless a State Dept. official was present. In explanation Winthrop Brown, then acting U.S. Ambassador, told him: "In your dealings with the Indian officials, you must always remember to treat them like 12-year-olds." . . . A new record album, "Songs for A Smoke Filled Room" by Elsa Lanchester with remarks by Charles Laughton, is advertised as "gay, risque—they get by because they have culture." . . . Variety reports that the Bob Hope TV show featuring Russian entertainers started a race among American talent agencies to book the attractions here . . . Butch Hallinan, 23-year-old son of Vivian and Vin, is a candidate for president of the student body of the U. of Californa . . . Brewers in Burton-on-Trent, England, announced that in the event of an H-bomb attack they will send bottled beer to areas where water reservoirs have been contaminated. Britain's Home Office approves because it says that bottled beer is not affected by radioactivity—as long as radioactive dust is wiped off the bottle.



London Daily Mirror

"You'll find discipline fairly strict here, Mr. Johnson—yes, Simpkins, what is it?"

ORGANIZERS OF DULL PARTIES PLEASE NOTE! The PTA at Leland Junior High School in Bethesda, Md., has a new, sure-fire fund-raising campaign. It is selling tickets to a school play that is guaranteed not to be shown. The ticket entitles the purchaser to "spend one more nice quiet evening at home." . . . Sam Spiegel, Hollywood film producer, finished a two-week trip to the U.S.S.R. enthused with the idea of making a joint American-Soviet movie. He said: "Like my Soviet colleagues, I believe that films must contain humanitarian ideas and foster in people honesty, kindness, hatred of war, love of peace and feelings of patriotism and friendship among nations." Spiegel, who produced **Bridge on the River Kwai,** took the trip under the new U.S.-U.S.S.R. cultural exchange program.

KING FEATURES WRITER George Dixon says that a few days before Britain and France joined Israel in the attack on Suez, American Navy Intelligence sent an alert to Admiral Charles R. Brown, commander of the Sixth Fleet, warning of possible war. Brown reportedly wired back: "I'm alerted. Which side are we on?" . . . The Los Angeles **Reporter** is offering free "Situations Wanted" ads. . . . An announcement from the 8th Cavalry Division in Korea says that Headquarters Company is holding regular sessions practising yo-yo maneuvers. This is to fight boredom, they say . . . The national office of the Daughters of the American Revolution has asked chapter members to consider whether water fluoridation "smacks of communist dictatorship."

THE YOUTH DELEGATION from Hawaii to the Brussels World's Fair is called "Brussels Sprouts" . . . Psychiatrist Dr. Ernest Dichter, director of the Institute for Motivational Research, advised physicians to break the "father image" status they enjoy with patients and substitute a relationship of equality. He told the physicians to "accept the fact that today's patient has grown up and can read current medical articles." He added that "patients resent fees tied to how much their leg or their life means to them." . . . **Weekly News Review,** publication of the Federal Reserve Bank of N.Y., reports that "prices have risen during the recession because of the sharp movement in food and partly because of the persistent advance on the cost of services such as utility bills, rents, medical care and haircuts." . . . Men serving time in British prisons in the future will be allowed to keep calendars in their cells, the government announced.

—Robert E. Light

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Socialized beds

LONDON

IN THE ST. MARY'S Hospital ward where I had been tended and fed since a minor operation, a nurse with an encouraging pat said I could go home after breakfast. When I returned from dressing, another customer already occupied my bed and they had removed my chart with the printed lines: "Condition on discharge: Cured . . . Relieved . . . Died . . ."

Whether you leave on your feet or in a box, it is all on the house. There are no formalities except the ward "sister" giving you a certificate to claim compensation for loss of pay. When you are admitted, nobody asks you what you earn or even to show that you are paid up on national insurance. They don't care what your nationality is either—if you need hospitalization that is all that matters. Such are the horrors—if one accepts the view of the American Medical Assn.—of socialized medicine.

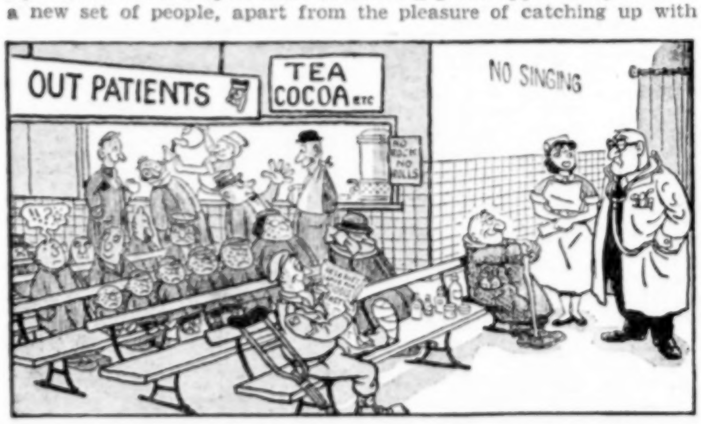
Mr. A. Dickson Wright is the "consultant" in charge of the surgical shebang at St. Mary's, whose property I became on entering. On Thursdays Mr. Dickson Wright (a British surgeon feels insulted if you call him Doctor) makes a personal appearance; the whole ward is in commotion for hours beforehand. Cecil B. DeMille coming on the set is small stuff compared with Mr. Dickson Wright's entry for ward rounds, followed by a retinue of a couple of dozen doctors and nurses. Such is the eminence of this man who—while he can and does collect £500 fees from private patients—does his stuff for free on National Health Service cases requiring his special skill.

AFTER LIVING FOR YEARS with the absurd controversy about socialized medicine in America, one is endlessly amazed by the ease with which Britain's medical profession—no less hostile to it before its introduction—has settled down with it. There is still criticism, sometimes valid, of the way it is run: too much paper work, too little chance for professional advancement, too many patients and too little time.

Of the institution itself, virtually all doctors admit that, even if not selfishly desirable, it was as inevitable as the Post Office or compulsory free education. The AMA last-ditchers against socialized medicine are increasingly seen here as Canutes who really ought to grow up.

There remains a handful of wealthy snobs who, presumably to avoid the indignity and social contamination of a general ward, go into the hospital as "private patients" and pay through the nose for everything. But the socialized hospitals of today remain a healthy and potent antidote to those "class" attitudes which have cursed Britain, and which began to break down during the last war.

The vast majority of customers, while not disputing any fool's right to pay for what is available free, find they enjoy the "sociability" of the ward. A spell there is indeed a grand opportunity to meet a new set of people, apart from the pleasure of catching up with unread books and being pampered by beautiful, indefatigable and scandalously underpaid nurses.



—Giles in London Daily Express

"This patient has had 14 prescriptions in two days—we suspect him of hoarding."

IN MY WEEK at St. Mary's I was fascinatingly filled in by bed-neighbors on the joys and sorrows of life as a West Ireland farmer, an attendant at the tribunal for income tax appeals, a retired insurance agent, a West End hotel chef, a Cypriot waiter, a German electrician and a barrister in pre-war Poland.

The patients all smoked as much as they liked, and when I propounded the notion that this was a good opportunity to give up the habit, the general reaction was that I would never make it and was a bit daft to try. But the barrister, a non-smoker who liked to talk about French poetry and murderers he had defended, steeled my resolve by insisting I could do it: "It is simply a matter of will-power—when you want to smoke, you just say No."

My champion was in constant pain and was ticketed for a badly-needed operation to end it. One morning I returned from my bath and the Pole's bed was empty. The nurse said: "He wouldn't sign the paper authorizing the anesthetic. He's been to several hospitals and this happened each time—the operation would cure him but he's scared and doesn't have the will to go through with it."

Such are the hazards which a National Health Service must take in its stride—and it's all on the house. I wonder what pajama-clad candidate for the knife is now listening to the Pole's discourse on murderers, French poetry and will-power. As for me, my stitches have been removed, the leg is stiff but operational, and after a week's abstinence my pipe tastes better than ever. —**Cedric Belfrage**